

BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

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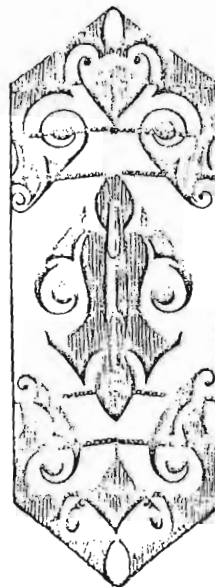
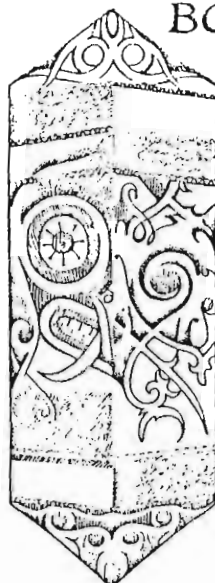
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- Kayan shield, front and rear views



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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

New Format

Beginning with this issue there are two minor changes in the BRB. The new design on the cover was chosen as one more distinctive of Borneo. The design is adapted from a sketch in Henry Ling Roth's *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*; it was kindly prepared by Allen Dougherty. The second change was suggested by Lord Medway. Rather than underlining foreign terms in the texts of contributions or other parts of the BRB, they shall appear in italics. But since italicizations are time-consuming for the typist, they will be employed only when the foreign term first appears in a given article or other contribution. Once presented in italics, foreign terms will be repeated in ordinary type. This allows easy observation of the distinction between foreign terms and those English terms which are underlined for emphasis.

Contributions for the Support of the BRC

The editor would like to thank all those individuals who have generously contributed to the costs of publishing the BRB: Stanley S. Bedlington, E. J. H. Berwick, Otto C. Doering III, Robert Harrison, Barbara Harrison, Tom Harrison, Robert McKinley, David Miller, John Musgrave, Carston Niemitz, Robert Pringle, Gerard Rixton and John O. Sutter. If, in the confusion of the last two changes of editor, some contributors have not been thanked in the BRB, the editor hopes they will understand and accept his apologies.

THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 and its membership consists of Fellows, an international group of scholars who are professionally engaged in research in Borneo. The goals of the Council are (1) to promote scientific research in the social, biological and medical sciences in Borneo; (2) to permit the research community, interested Borneo government departments and others to keep abreast of ongoing research and its results; (3) to serve as a vehicle for drawing attention to urgent research problems; (4) to coordinate the flow of information on Borneo research arising from many diverse sources; (5) to disseminate rapidly the initial results of research activity; and (6) to facilitate research by reporting on current conditions. The functions of the Council also include providing counsel and assistance to research endeavors, conservation activities, and the practical application of research results.

Support for the activities of the Council comes from subscriptions to the *Borneo Research Bulletin*, Fellowship fees, and contributions. Contributions have played a significant part in the support of the Council, and they are always welcome.

Fellows of the Borneo Research Council

The privileges of Fellows include (1) participation in the organization and(cont.p.27)

RESEARCH NOTES

SOCIO-ECOLOGY OF *MACACA FASCIOLARIS*: A PRIMATE

RESEARCH PROJECT IN EAST KALIMANTAN

Donald G. Lindburg
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A twelve month field study of the crab-eating macaque, *Macaca fascicularis*, has been carried out at the Hlmi Oesman Memorial Research Station, located on the Kutai Nature Reserve in East Kalimantan. The research team consisted of the author and a graduate student from the University of California at Davis, Mr. Nicholas A. Pittinghoff, Jr.

The crab-eating macaque, known locally as the *kaya*, has a wide geographical distribution in Southeast Asia, and from this perspective may be regarded as having achieved outstanding evolutionary success. Populations are known to reside in a variety of habitats, including mangrove swamp, lowland and montane rain forest, and in some instances, within or near urban centers. Most authorities refer to the crab-eating macaque as an "edge" species, found most frequently along river courses or near the sea shore. In other respects, it is an interesting species within the genus *Macaca*, being the most southerly in distribution, smallest in body size, and probably surpassed only by the lion-tailed macaque of India in arborcality.

The objective of the study was to initiate a program of data collection for testing certain hypotheses with respect to the ways in which differences in group composition, individual and group behavior, and social organization relate to differences among habitats. Our effort was concentrated in a habitat which borders the Sengata River, and which is predominantly slightly disturbed primary forest, but with patches of secondary growth interspersed. The study had two foci: 1) intensive and repeated survey of a 10 kilometer stretch of river in order to obtain numerical data on the population of the area, and 2) in-depth study of ranging, foraging, and social behavior of groups within the vicinity of the research station.

Because of academic responsibilities, this effort had to be terminated in January, 1974. However, plans have been developed for another graduate student to resume observation later this year.

THE MEANING OF THE TERMS *LONG*, *UMA*', AND *LEPO*

Herbert L. Whittier
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An explanation of the terms *long*, *lepo*, and *uma'* will clarify the naming pattern of Kenyah villages and Kenyah sub-groups. Throughout the literature, both English and Dutch, one finds a seeming confusion of referents with sub-group names being applied to village locations and vice versa.

Long, a term common to the Kenyah and Kayan languages, means the confluence of two rivers. As a place name, it is combined with the name of the smaller river to indicate a specific place. For example, Long Nawang, is the place where the Nawang River joins with a larger river, the Kayan River in this case. Since most travel is by water, location at a long provides access to more potential swidden areas and to greater areas of forest for hunting and of water for fishing. For these reasons, Kenyah villages are most often located at long and take their names from these locations. Thus, most Kenyah villages are named Long _____; these are place names, not group names.

Kenyah sub-group names contain, usually, two elements, the first of which is either *lepo* or *uma'*. *Lepo* means, literally, "place" or "village." The second element of the sub-group name, according to my informants, refers to a characteristic of the original location of the sub-group in the Apo Da'a (the legendary Iwan River homeland of the Indonesian Kenyah) of the group itself. The *LepoTau*, for example, lived near the place of the tau tree.

Uma' means, literally, "longhouse." Care should be taken not to confuse this term with the term *uma*; the latter means swidden field (Indonesian/Malay = *ladang*). Within a village each longhouse is referred to by a distinctive name, usually derived from some characteristic of the longhouse or some aspect of nature near the longhouse. *Uma' Miding*, for example, is literally "longhouse on the hill"; *Uma' Bio* is "the big longhouse"; *Uma' Long* is "the longhouse at the long". Derivative from this is the use of the term *uma'* as a term of ethnic reference to a sub-grouping of Kenyah as in the example: Kenyah *Uma' Djalan*. The term *Ma'* is also derived from *uma'* and used in the same way as Kenyah *Ma' Kulit*.

Informants are unable to explain why one Kenyah sub-group should be prefixed by the term *lepo* and another by the term *uma'*; why, for example, one group is known as *Lepo Tau* and another as *Uma' Djalan*. Kenyah usually do agree on the unambiguous application of one term or the other to each sub-group. One would never refer to the *Uma' Djalan*, for example, as the *Lepo Djalan*; as my informants said, "It doesn't mix."

My hypothesis on the *lepo/uma'* distinction in Kenyah sub-group names, based in part on Kenyah oral history, is that they reflect a past situation, perhaps in the Apo Da'a. Groups now referred to as *uma'* were, at the start of the migrations from the Apo Da'a, from only one longhouse and from that house they acquired the name they still use. Groups referred to as *lepo* were, at the start of the migration from Apo Da'a, already separate villages consisting of several longhouses. There is some linguistic evidence to support this hypothesis. The *Uma' Alim*, the *Uma' Kulit*, the *Uma' Timai*, and the *Uma' Lasan*, for example, show linguistic similarities which distinguish them from other groups. These similarities would seem to indicate that in the not-too-distant past they were all longhouses, or *uma'*, within a single village, or *lepo*.

Over a period of time it is possible for the referent to change from *uma'* to *lepo* if a group prospers and grows strong. The sub-group now occasionally referred to as the *Lepo Bem*, for example, was referred to in the early literature as *Uma' Bem*. The referent seems to be in the process of change at present since many informants in Long Nawang seemed unsure of the proper referent in this case, sometimes using the appellation *Lepo Bem* and other times *Uma' Bem*.

DAYAK LAND TENURE: AN ALTERNATIVE TO ECOLOGICAL DETERMINISM

Gale Dixon
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In an earlier issue of this Bulletin (Vol. 3 No. 1, June, 1971 pp. 17-21), George Appell has raised some interesting questions concerning Dayak land tenure systems in East Malaysia. He suggests that differences in the systems of the Iban and Land Dayaks of Sarawak on one hand and the Rungus of Sabah on the other "might be explainable in large part by differences in ecological factors". At this point, I can neither refute or substantiate Appell's suggestion adequately, but I may be able to add some evidence pertinent to the problem and suggest an alternative approach to explanation of these differences.

As a corollary to my research into rural settlement patterns and cultural landscapes in the First Division of Sarawak, I investigated some aspects of the traditional Dayak tenure system. My conversations with several Dayak informants served mainly to confirm the findings of Leach (1950) and Geddes (1954). On matters of detail I suspect there is more local variation in customary tenure than either Leach or Geddes discovered. Still, the basic tenets of the systems are remarkably uniform throughout the First Division and very much as these two authors have described them.

A considerable proportion, (I estimate about 36%) of the land in the First Division is still held under native customary tenure (see map). Since 1948 the government has divided all land in Sarawak into five classes.

1. Reserved Land. Land held in reserve by the government, usually to protect forests or water catchments or to provide for parks.
2. Mixed Zone Land. Land which can be legally alienated by persons of any race.
3. Native Area Land. Land which is, or can be held under registered title by Malays or Dayaks.
4. Native Customary Land. Land held under one of the traditional land tenure systems. The system is administered by the local community. This amounts to approximately 346,700 hectares (856,000 acres) in the First Division.
5. Interior Area Land. All other land. In general, lands of this classification are steep, rocky, remote, or swampy. It is the only land on which Dayaks may establish new customary rights by clearing virgin jungle for agriculture, but this may be done only with the permission of the government. (Porter, 1967, pp. 82-83).

The existence of an ancient, indigenous land tenure system within a modern, codified system is a legacy of past governments, beginning with James Brooke's, which recognized the legitimate rights to land ownership of the indigenous peoples and the special need of these people to have their abundant land protected from other, land-hungry members of what has become a plural society. The land laws developed slowly throughout Brooke and Colonial rule, but it was not until 1948 that the legal bases for adequate protection of indigenous land rights were finally developed. In 1958 the present Land Code, amending the 1948 code, came into force. This revised code

attempts to resolve some of the recent problems of providing adequate protection for natural resources (particularly forests) and to allow for changes in land administration which may be necessary in the quest for economic and social development. (Porter, 1967, pp. 60-61 and 78-81).

So, although the indigenous customary rights of land tenure have been somewhat circumscribed in recent years, particularly with regard to establishing rights over previously unoccupied and unused land, a major thrust of land ordinances in Sarawak has been to preserve and protect the indigenous land tenure systems. For the most part, Malays have chosen to abandon their traditional system in favor of legally registered titles within the Native Area Land classification. In the First Division it is the Dayaks, then, who hold land under native customary systems and it is to aspects of these systems we now turn.

The principles of Dayak customary land tenure vary from group to group, but these variations may be as strong from place to place within the area occupied by one group as between the groups themselves. Regardless of these local variations, the following tenets apparently apply everywhere in the First Division where land is held under a Dayak system.

1. Rights to land are initially acquired through felling virgin jungle. Recent land ordinances establishing forest preserves and requiring permission to clear land in the Interior Area Land have virtually eliminated the possibility of acquiring land by this means, but initial acquisition through original clearing is the basis for several other points of land tenure.
2. Rights established by an initial clearing of the land are passed to all male and female descendants of the original clearer. These descendants do not inherit individual parcels of land; the plots are not sub-divided, but each descendant has rights, in common with all other descendants, to the entire plot. The descent groups can become very large, but Dayaks have at least two mechanisms by which they keep the group to a workable size.
3. Land surrounding a village is normally reserved for the exclusive use of members of that village. In the First Division most lands suitable for Dayak agriculture are rather densely settled and village lands therefore tend to be contiguous, but occasionally there may be areas which no village claims. "Village lands" does not imply communal tenure of all lands, most plots of agricultural land are held by a descent group which is not coincidental with the village; however,
4. Land composing the village, or longhouse, site is held in common by members of the village and
5. lands to which cultivation rights have lapsed for some reason, certain lands with sacred associations (such as graveyards, but often including some hilltops), and virgin jungle areas, if any, to which cultivation rights have yet to be established, are held in common. The group, or village, never abandons or forfeits land. An individual or *bilek* family may lose, or fail to validate, cultivation rights, but such individual abandonment simply means that the land reverts to a common, village pool or to the remaining members of the descent group. (Spencer

1966, p. 87 says this point is regularly found in the land tenure traditions of shifting cultivators). A family newly arrived in the village might be allowed to cultivate a plot of land from the communal pool. The power to allocate these lands is vested in the village headman (*tua kampong*) or a group of village leaders. Aside from this point, village leaders have no special land rights or power concerning land use.

6. A person leaving a village will usually forfeit his rights to land within that village's boundaries. In some communities such forfeiture occurs abruptly and formally; in other areas a person leaving a village will simply lose his land rights by failing to validate them through cultivation.
7. Since most land is held collectively by a number of descendants of the original clearer, it is normally outside an individual's province to sell the land. But, land may be loaned or rented for limited periods, usually one year. A person renting land cannot pass cultivation rights to that plot to his descendants.
8. An individual, or *bilek* family, actually using a plot of land holds exclusive rights to that plot and the crops he has planted until the crops are harvested. Normally, this period of exclusive tenure by the cultivator would last for two or three years. The dominant crop is rice, but maize, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, cucumbers, gourds, beans, manioc and sugar cane are usually planted as well. The major rice crop is harvested in the first year and afterwards a second rice crop or more of the secondary crops may be planted. At the end of the third year, weed growth is usually so profuse that it is not worth the effort to harvest any remaining crops and they are abandoned.
9. Land use rights are passed to individuals but, since the *bilek* family is the basic economic and social unit of Dayak society, the rights of any one member of the family accrue in effect to all other members.

The important principle of Dayak land tenure is that cultivation rights are passed equally to all descendants. Each person in a village, then, belongs to a number of land holding descent groups and each plot is subject to cultivation by a number of persons. Indeed, in an idealized situation where all the land within the village boundaries has been cleared for a number of generations and the villagers are all related to one another by marriage or descent from the original clearers, it is possible for every person in the village to hold cultivation rights to every plot of land. It is in dealing with potential situations such as this that the regional variations in land tenure principles are found.

According to Geddes (1954, p. 69), the Land Dayak living to the south of Serian rely upon forgetfulness to keep the descent groups to manageable size. (Spencer, 1966, p. 91, supported by Hogbin, "Native Land Tenure.....", 1939, states that "group memory concerning tenure rights normally is effective for only about four generations, and many disputes over tenure rights result from the faultiness of the oral record beyond the third generation.") Most of the land has been cleared for several generations, yet a Dayak need not be able to prove his precise relationship to the original clearer to establish his own cultivation rights to land previously cleared by his father or uncle, for instance. But when he cannot trace his

relationship back to the original clearer, he loses his claim to any other lands that original clearer may have established claim to and which, for some reason, was not passed to or remembered by his intermediate ancestors.

Forgetfulness is also the operative mechanism for limiting the descent groups size when a person marries outside the village and moves to a spouse's village. The person will then cultivate the land to which his spouse has rights and will tend to forget his own rights in his parent's village. Similarly, when a village splits the two groups each will farm the lands closest to their new village and tend to forget their rights to lands farther away and close to the other village, (see Geddes, 1954, p. 59).

In the Kuching Rural District, I discovered that Land Dayaks are more formal in their means of limiting the size of the descent group than are the Serian District Dayaks. In this area cultivation rights to land, validated by cultivation, can be inherited downward only as far as the grandchildren; that is, an individual has no rights to land cleared by his great-grandfather unless his grandfather or father has also recleared and cultivated the same plot. As in the Serian area, one does not automatically relinquish land rights when moving away from a village, but the rights are soon lost unless there is a father or grandfather (or mother or grandmother) remaining in the village to validate the claims.

Before the clearing season begins each year, the head of a household examines the plots to which some in his bilék family (almost invariably himself or his wife), has cultivation rights and selects one to be recleared and cultivated that year. Once the plot is selected he erects a distinctive sign, (usually a stick or leaf wedged into a split stake), which indicates that he intends to use the plot that year, and he makes his choice generally known to the other members of the descent group.

Occasionally, two persons with rights to the same plot will both choose to cultivate it in the same year. Although there are again local variations in detail, these conflicts are normally resolved according to the following principles:

1. The person most closely related to the last person to cultivate the plot has the best right, but
2. if the two persons are equally descended from the ancestor through whom their claims are established, the one who has most recently cultivated the land himself must yield to the claim of the other, on the theory that each should have an equal opportunity to use the plot during his lifetime.
3. If the two persons are equally descended from the ancestor through whom their claims are established and neither has ever cultivated the plot, the oldest of the two has the best right, again on the theory that each should have equal opportunity to use the plot and the oldest is likely to die first.
4. It sometimes happens that the opposing parties cannot agree on their relationship to the ancestor through whom they are making their claims. The situation can become incredibly complex as a person may have rights to the same plot of land through several different lineages, or rights may be claimed through some other member of the bilék family. In such

cases the conflicting claims are adjudicated by a general meeting of the village, by a group of elders, or by the village headman.

Plot boundaries are normally indicated/easily identifiable natural features such as ridge lines, streams, large trees, or rock outcrops. My informants told me that these boundaries are taken very seriously and that violation of the boundaries can, at least in the Kuching District, result in a fine which is paid to the village or even result in the loss of rights to the land, which then may become part of the village communal holdings. (I am not certain on the point, but I suspect that serious violation of boundaries by the cultivator can result in loss of future cultivation rights to that plot for the entire descent group. If so, there would be intense social pressure on every cultivator to scrupulously respect the boundaries).

My findings with regard to the rotation period of First Division lands under shifting cultivation merely confirm Geddes (1954, p. 68) observations in the area south of Serian:

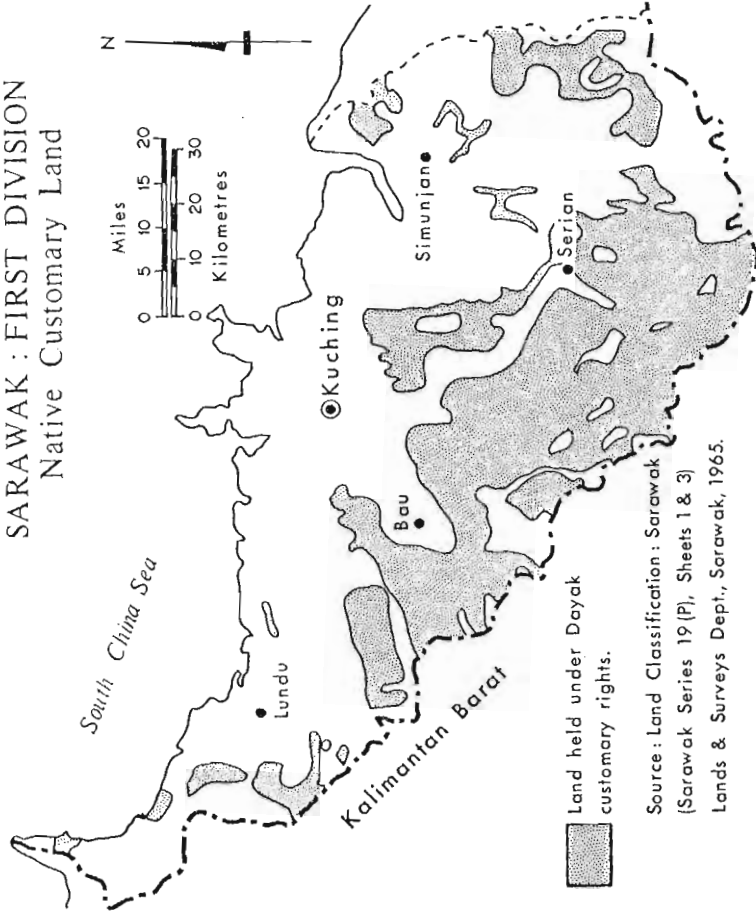
Land Dayaks generally consider the best rotation period for dry padi is from ten to twelve years, although the actual period is sometimes lower. They give this only as an estimate for in practice they are not guided by the number of years, but by the size of the growth which has developed upon the land. When certain of the trees in the secondary growth have grown so big that their trunks at arm level can no longer be circled by the two hands joined, then the area is fit for cultivation again.

The Dayaks' method of determining the rotation period is actually more scientific than a system based upon an arbitrary time span since each plot is certain to have slightly different soil and micro-climate conditions. In some places eight years may be quite adequate for soil and vegetation regeneration, in another place a short distance away, fifteen years may be too short. Although some observers, including Lee (1970, p. 92), maintain that Dayaks have badly abused their land through short rotation periods and clearing steep slopes which are then subject to erosion, their system certainly could be worse.

In Sarawak's First Division there are no large areas of useless grassland caused by repeated clearing and burning with too short a regeneration period such as one finds in the Rungus Dusun area or in the Philippines or Sumatra. These latter areas are not so favored with abundant precipitation as the First Division, but in Sarawak there is sufficient growth of *lalang* in rubber gardens, along roadsides, and in other frequently disturbed sites to suggest that if the Dayaks were clearing and burning too frequently there grassy wastelands could become established. To the southwest of Bau regrowth of cleared lands does appear to be characterized by a more limited number of species than I would consider typical, suggesting that some deterioration of the soil may be taking place. On the other hand, the limestone base of this area may be responsible for different soil and drainage conditions which naturally support a forest with a relatively limited number of species. Also this same land appears to be producing adequate dry rice crops at the present time.

It is my judgement that the functionally interrelated indigenous land tenure and agricultural systems of the First Division Dayaks are an ecologically sound, stable and adaptive approach to the problem of producing food in a humid tropical environment. Land is fairly allocated to members of the community; limited population growth can be accommodated by utilizing virgin jungle or plots held in communal

SARAWAK : FIRST DIVISION
Native Customary Land



Source : Land Classification : Sarawak
(Sarawak Series 19(P), Sheets 1 & 3)
Lands & Surveys Dept., Sarawak, 1965.

tenure; sites with sacred associations are protected; and communal ownership of the village site keeps it free from disputes.

But the rather delicate balance between the need for adequate food production and for maintenance of the soil and vegetation resources of the land under shifting cultivation is easily tipped by increasing pressure on the land. In the First Division there is, effectively, no new land available for pioneering, so increased pressure on the land cannot be relieved by increasing the total land area. Neither does there appear to be much hope of increasing food production on existing land, unless there is a radical change in Dayak agricultural technology.

Yet there is increasing pressure on the Native Customary Land, pressure with which the traditional agricultural and land tenure systems are ill-suited to cope. This pressure on the land comes from two sources; increasing population and decreasing land area available for food production using shifting cultivation because land is being converted to cash crop production. Modern medicine, particularly in the areas of malaria control and infant care, has increased infant survival rates and extended the average life span of the Dayaks. There are now more Dayak mouths to feed, but there is less land from which to feed them.

Possibly the greatest single consequence of economic development efforts in the last thirty years has been the large increase in the amount of land planted to cash crops, especially rubber and pepper. Between 1956 and 1964 over 32,500 hectares (80,000 acres) of high yielding rubber was planted in Sarawak under a government sponsored scheme. Jackson (1968, p. 93), estimates that nearly a third of this acreage was planted by Land Dayaks in the First Division. Therefore, at least 10,000 hectares (25,000 acres) in the First Division was planted under this one scheme in only seven years. This area, 10,000 hectares, is only about 3% of the total area held under Native Customary tenure, but that is the acreage planted only to rubber, under only one rubber planting scheme, by only one Dayak group. If we were to include all rubber planting programs, plus private unassisted planting, plus rubber planted by Ibans, plus land planted to pepper, the acreage planted to cash crops in the last thirty years would easily exceed, I estimate, 10% of the total Native Customary land.

In the past the traditional response of shifting agriculturalists faced with a need for increasing food production has been to shorten the rotation period. It has now been clearly shown in a variety of environments that a shortened rotation period inevitably results in a slow but steady deterioration in soil and vegetation quality until the land is capable of producing little of either subsistence or economic value. Unfortunately, this deterioration is so slow that the agriculturalists themselves may never be aware of it or, when faced with the exigency of feeding themselves, consider it serious even if they do see it happening. If the First Division Dayaks were to shorten their rotation period now, it would probably take a generation or more for any real decline in production to occur, and even then a poor burn, insufficient (or excessive) rainfall, a profuse growth of weeds, a plague of pests, bad luck, or some other traditional explanation for crop failure would probably be blamed for low yields.

The government, and an increasing number of educated and concerned Dayaks, are aware of the serious consequences of a shortened rotation period on land under shifting cultivation. They are unlikely to allow soil and vegetation degradation to assume catastrophic proportions. The problem is to find a means of counteracting the natural tendency of the Dayaks to shorten the rotation period when faced as they are with increasing population and decreasing land area available for food production.

The obvious solution is to increase the land area in shifting cultivation. But there is too little Interior Area Land in the First Division to have much effect even if it were not so steep or swampy as to be unsuitable to Dayak shifting cultivation, so either the Reserved Land (forest preserves) would have to be opened up to shifting cultivation, or the conversion of food producing land to cash crops would have to be reversed. Opening the forest preserves would probably solve the Dayaks' problem for a time, but in the long term the loss of the forest resources would be dangerous for all segments of Sarawak society, including the Dayaks. Neither should, or will, the government reverse its commitment to increasing cash crop production; it is clear that the economic development of Sarawak is largely dependent upon such commodities. Besides, the adoption of cash crops, with or without government assistance, appears to be an inevitable adjunct to the exposure of shifting agriculturalists to a commercial economy (Blaut, 1966, p. 194).

Another solution aimed at attacking the problem of increasing pressure on food producing land at its roots is to slow the rapid increase in population. Sarawak is moving toward the time when population growth must be slowed, but even if measures were taken immediately, it would take a generation for their effects to be felt; the next generation of shifting agriculturalists, and mothers and fathers, has already been born (see Myrdal, 1968, pp. 1458-9).

The ultimate answer to providing both food and a reasonable income from cash crops lies in a radical change in agricultural technology, in the elimination of shifting cultivation. Adequate food and increased income for an increasing population cannot be provided when approximately 90% of the agricultural land is fallow at any one time. The land must be made to produce more. The land best suited to food production must be converted to permanent use and the remaining land planted to cash crops.

But such a radical change in agricultural technology necessarily means that radical changes in society must at least accompany, or perhaps precede it. And social change occurs at a frustratingly slow rate unless there is a high degree of centralized control over society, a degree of control the Malaysian government does not seem likely to promote. To increase agricultural production by changing the agricultural system is too slow to adequately deal with the increasing pressure on the agricultural land occurring now. An interim measure is required which will give society and the agricultural technology the time required to convert to a more productive system. That measure may be found in the land tenure system.

I believe that the traditional Dayak land tenure system is the single most important factor in the development of the dilemma the Dayaks now face. The customary system works very well so long as the community is using the land in a customary fashion; that is, growing the traditional mixture of rice, fruits and vegetables. But when confronted with the entirely different form of land use required by cash crops (and a situation aggravated by a more rapid increase in population than can be dealt with by traditional evolutionary adaptations), the system begins to break down.

Under the traditional land tenure system, once an individual reclears a plot and plants crops, it is, in effect, his land exclusively until all the crops are harvested. If the cultivator chooses to plant rubber instead of rice, he establishes a much more comprehensive claim to the land than the normal short term usufruct rights the system caters for. The parcel of land is removed from the pool of land available to members of the descent group as effectively as if the cultivator held the land in exclusive freehold and sold it to someone outside the village.

Yet there is no safeguard built into the traditional system to prevent land from being converted to this type of use. And since every member of the village knows that he has use rights to all the land his ancestors have cleared (indeed he may have rights to most of the village lands), he is unlikely to feel that there is a shortage of land or feel any moral responsibility to others of his descent group to keep the plot free for future rice cultivation.

If the land tenure system is at fault because it cannot accommodate the new land use demands of cash crops, it should be possible to reduce the pressure on food producing land by changing the land tenure system. It should be possible, for example, for the government to demand that a Dayak obtain the permission of all members of the descent group with rights to a block of land before he takes that land out of food production by planting a cash crop. A requirement such as this would allow those with rights to the land to see how that land will be used before it is actually committed to use. More importantly, it would force the cultivator intending to plant cash crops to recognize that his kin also have a legal right to the plot and that land resources are more limited than he might otherwise assume.

Alternatively, the government could amend the Dayak land tenure system (as it already has been amended with regard to clearing new land) by formalizing the length of the required fallow period. The danger here might be that the government would place an arbitrary time on fallow periods and reject as too cumbersome the traditional, rational system of determining the fallow period which assesses the stage of vegetative regeneration.

Although the traditional Dayak land tenure system is suffering the attacks of an alien agricultural system (cash crops) and an alien system of land tenure (imposed by the government), it is still the controlling system for a large segment of the First Division's people and for a large proportion of the First Division's land area. Further, it will only require minor modification to allow it to cope with the recent alien pressures placed upon it. That the traditional Dayak land tenure system is so remarkably uniform throughout the First Division will make it far easier for the government to introduce enough change in it to allow it both to continue to exist and to accommodate modern land use requirements.

To return now to Dr. Appell's thesis, it is in part this remarkable uniformity of the system which leads me to doubt that the differences between the Dayak system and the Rungus Dusun system can be explained by differences in the physical environment. The variations in the Dayak system are so minor, affecting only the rate with which land rights are lost by people leaving the village and the mechanisms for limiting the size of the land owning descent groups, that they are insignificant when compared with the overall uniformity. The variations in the Dayak system do not appear to follow ethnic lines. First Division Ibans (more sedentary Ibans than the group Freeman studied), do not appear to have varied the land tenure system to any greater degree or in a way differently than the First Division Land Dayaks. I detected no significant differences in the land tenure system between the Iban in the area east of Serian or the Land Dayaks in the area south of Serian.

Variations in the system are no more correlated with terrain than they are with ethnic groups. I found no significant differences in the land tenure system as practiced by the Sebuyau in the brackish swamps east of Kuching, the Jagoi Land Dayaks in the limestone country along the Indonesian border south of Bau, the Land Dayaks in the steep hills around Tebedu (on the border almost due south of Kuching) and the Bidayuh Land Dayaks in the subdued terrain near Tenth Mile Bazaar.

From this I would conclude that the traditional tenure system is a cultural trait functionally interrelated with shifting cultivation, that it serves adequately to allocate land in a variety of physical and cultural environments. The variations which do occur in the system as practiced in the First Division I suggest are most likely explained in terms of community size, land availability, and relative isolation from other communities.

Should Dr. Appell's hypothesis not be correct, is there an alternative explanation for the fact that Rungus Dusun do not inherit land use rights (that is, their rights to cultivation are limited in that they do not accrue by any previous cultivation by the cultivator or his ancestors)? There may be. As we have seen, the traditional Dayak system appears to change (or break down because it cannot cope with change), only when new land use demands are placed upon it. Perhaps the Rungus system once was more similar to the Dayak system, but has changed to accommodate different land use demands.

Recall that Appell has shown that the area occupied by the Rungus receives on the average only about 70% of the rainfall of the Dayak area and he has said that the rotation period for a plot of land is between seven and ten years. Given this lower rainfall, I would say that the rotation period is too short for adequate regeneration of soil and vegetation. I am supported in this statement by the fact that large areas of the Rungus lands are characterized by profuse growth of lalang and fire-tolerant woody plants.

It is possible then, that the Rungus have had to adapt to a greater pressure on available food producing land than a previous land tenure system had been able to accommodate, a situation similar to the one I have suggested the Dayaks now face in the First Division. Given increased pressure on the land, the Rungus may have changed their land tenure system to allow a more equitable distribution of the scarce land resource at the beginning of each clearing season. The system the Rungus now use would give each family an equal chance at selecting from the plots suitable for recultivation regardless of the number of ancestors they had in the community. The Rungus may have recognized that a segment of the community, less well endowed with land rights than other segments, was being forced to cultivate its land far too frequently, yields were declining, and that the entire community was in jeopardy. A change in the land tenure system which would remove the disadvantageous position of this segment with regard to land rights may then have been an adaptive adjustment on the part of the community to save itself.

Let me be the first to say that this argument is extremely vulnerable, and I would not care to cling too tenaciously to it without further evidence. In particular, it probably assigns a greater degree of community cohesion and a greater ability to recognize what must have been a relatively slow decline in productivity than is fair to expect of preliterate tribal society. Still, the relative poverty of the Rungus area, a poverty which seems more related to human rather than physical causes, is quite obvious. Rungus lands cannot now produce as much food under shifting cultivation as they once could. If the Rungus recognized this declining productivity, a change in their land tenure system may well have been an attempt to solve the problem. I would like to see someone investigate further the validity of this hypothetical explanation of the differences in the land tenure systems of the Sarawak Dayaks and the Rungus of Sabah.

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Proceedings: Seminar on Social Research and Rural Life in Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean Region; Mexico, 1962, Egbert de Vries, ed. Paris, 1966, pp. 185-198; Conklin, H. C., 1957, *Hanundo Agriculture: A Report on an Integral System of Shifting Cultivation in the Philippines*, Rome; Freeman, J. D., 1955, *Iban Agriculture: a Report on the Shifting Cultivation of Hill Rice by the Iban of Sarawak*, Colonial Research Studies, No. 18, London; Geddes, W. R., 1954, *The Land Dayak of Sarawak*, Colonial Research Studies, No. 14, London; Hogbin, H. I., 1939, *Native Land Tenure in New Guinea, Oceania*, Vol. 10, pp. 113-165; Jackson, J. C., 1968, *Sarawak: A Geographical Survey of a Developing State*, London; Leach, E. R., 1950, *Social Science Research in Sarawak*, Colonial Research Studies, No. 1, London; Lee, Y. L., 1970, *Population and Settlement in Sarawak*, Singapore; Myrdal, G., 1968, *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations*, New York; Porter, A. P., 1967, *Land Administration in Sarawak*, Kuching; Spencer, J. B., 1966, *Shifting Cultivation in Southeastern Asia*, Berkeley.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS IN EASTERN SABAH AND SULU PROVINCE

From C. A. Sather
Universiti Sains Malaysia

The following brief communication was written by M. B. Hardaker in response to 'The Special Issue' number of the BRB (Vol. 3, No. 2., December, 1971). As issue editor, I have taken the liberty to add some brief prefatory remarks of my own to those of Mr. Hardaker, which appear in full below.

Mr. Hardaker's comments make, I believe, two very useful points. First, he argues that the sense of identity felt by people living in the eastern Sabah-Sulu area is highly localized and strangers normally identify themselves, in the first instance, as people of a particular island, group of islands, or region, and that their identity as 'The people of Sulu' or with the contemporary political units of the area is weak, although, it should be added--the latter is present and growing. My own experience agrees with this. It only needs adding that the names of the localities with which they identify themselves are also those of separate cultural and speech communities. Thus, as Hardaker points out, an Ubian remains an Ubian, even though he may have been born in Sabah and has never set foot in the Ubian Islands, so long as by speech and custom he remains a member of the Ubian community and considers himself as such. On the other hand, I find it doubtful that this narrow, highly localized pattern of self-identification only developed as the old Sulu Sultanate declined in power. A point that both Professor Kiefer and I sought to make in our discussion of the Sultanate was that the Sulu state incorporated considerable cultural and regional diversity. More specifically, we argued, it is misleading to think of the Sultanate as a 'State' in the Western or modern Malaysian sense, with a uniform administrative structure, police, courts and other institutions controlled at the center, but that the various constituent local and cultural communities were largely autonomous and that 'jurisdiction' over the population of the area shaded away, as one moved outward from Jolo, to a merely symbolic form at the geographic frontiers of the state. Thus the Sultanate never seriously compromised local ties, regional and ethnic affiliations.

In the case of the people commonly known as 'Bajau' or 'Samal', use of these two terms is, I think, regrettable. In my own experience, the generic label they apply to themselves, at least in Sabah, is *sama* or *a'a sama*, or dialect variants of these terms. *A'a* in Bajau is equivalent to *tau* in Tausug and means 'people' or 'a people'. To my knowledge 'Bajau' and 'Samal' are never used in self-reference among the Sama themselves, although most know these terms are used by outsiders and frequently use them when speaking to non-Sama. 'Samal' is a Tausug term, while the source of 'Bajau' is obscure, although, it is possibly Brunei. A great deal of confusion might have been avoided if these people had been called simply 'Sama' from the outset; and the terms 'Bajau' and 'Samal' had never found an established place in literature.

The Bajau (in the sense of 'Samal') are a far more diversified and cultural/fragmented population than the Tausug, and while they may refer to themselves as *sama*, their usual identification is, as Hardaker notes, with a particular locale, as *a'a . . .* (particular place name), 'the people of . . .'.
ly

The Bajau Laut are exceptional in this regard and refer to themselves as *sama laut*, *delaut* or *mandelaut*, essentially, 'sea Sama'. *Pala'au* (*Pelahu*) is a pejorative term used by other Bajau-speakers and its use is greatly resented by the Bajau Laut. I never heard the Bajau Laut use the term 'Bajau' to describe themselves, although, again, most persons were aware of its use among non-Bajau.

The second major point made by Mr. Hardaker, that the sense of unity felt by people of the eastern Sabah-Sulu area is based on the fact of their being co-religionists-Muslims-and not on their ethnic identity or on any form of Tausug cultural or linguistic hegemony, is well taken and I fully agree. Despite the recent reassertion of traditional political values, particularly in Sabah, emergence of a new Sulu Sultanate is highly unlikely.

RACIAL AND CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS ACCEPTED BY THE PEOPLES OF SABAH AND SULU

From M. B. Hardaker
'Killinoogan', 19 Albyn Rd., Strathfield, U.K.

Discussion over a period of ten years with the coastal people of East Sabah and travelers from Sulu Province reveals that there is no unified 'group-image' of a cultural or racial nature. True, those from Sulu Province in the Philippine Islands regard themselves as being under the Government of the Republic and those in Sabah as being under Sabah Government jurisdiction. However, this regard is shallow as is evidenced by their attitude toward territorial boundaries; regarding these as a temporary imposition by these Governments. Age old practices of fishing in traditional waters, regardless of modern national boundaries and removal of the 'bakau' or 'tengah' mangrove bark from traditional mangrove forests be they in Sabah or not.

However when asked the standard question "What people are you," the answer is rarely Tausug as implied by Professor Keifer or an answer associated with the current Governing authority of the country of their origin. The usual answer was one that associates the person with a place of origin or a people thus:

Jolouano those living in or near Jolo. Usually, in Sabah, seamen engaged in 'barter' or smuggling trade. On closer enquiry

some of these people may identify themselves as Tausug.

Tau Ubian

those from Ubian Island: an adventurous people who migrated in large numbers to the East Coast of Sabah. Even after a fairly long period of residence in Sabah these people still refer to themselves as Tau Ubian. Their language differs slightly (a dialect) from Samal.

Tau Samal

This is the largest number of Bajau's who identify themselves with one group, the 'Samal' people. They are a polite people and do not complain vociferously with the classification of them by others as 'Bajau'. However, there is some annoyance with this misnomer (to them) as they associate the classification 'Bajau' with the true Sea Gypsies, the *Bajau Pelahu* or *Bajau Laut*.

The Samal people like the Ubian (and I feel that the Ubian are but a sub-group of Samal) have land-based centers on the coast or islands but their life is principally oriented toward the sea. They do have small plantations of bananas, tapioca, etc. and keep some goats but these occupations are subsidiary to fishing.

Bajau Laut

or *Bajau Laut* or *Bajau Pelahu* (it is possible that *Pelahu* is a mispronunciation of *Perahu*). It is here that we meet the use of the word *Bajau* in its true sense meaning Wanderer or Gypsy as these people are fully associated with the sea without any land connexion other than that explained by Professor Sather. The *Bajau Laut* do not associate themselves with any land origin as do the Samal. They live on the water as they always did and their folklore places their origin with a Sulu Sea King Neptune.

Bajau Darat

These people are the only other group that call themselves *Bajau* as do the *Bajau Laut*. They now populate the areas around Kudat, Kota Belud, Tuarau and Papar in Sabah. They speak a language that is only slightly akin to Samal or any other Samal dialect. They are a 'land' based people living in areas bordering the sea but to a distance inland that is far greater than other Samal groups in East Sabah. They plant 'wet' padi, unheard of in other Samal communities, and have a community organisation that is more akin to their neighbors in these areas, the *Dusun*.

From observation it would appear that this group could have been earlier sea-faring people who settled on the coast as do the Samal but who were driven inland by subsequent raids by 'fresh' waves of Samal, and who, through association with other land people, learned the cultivation of wet rice.

It has been my experience that these are the major self groupings of the people of this area. Further, that people of Samal origin frequently identify themselves by island sub-group first before saying that they are Samal. This is common with the following:

Tau Tabawan the people from Tabawan Island in Sulu Province. Noted for their fishing and swimming ability.

Tau Sekobong notorious pirates

Tau Ungus Matata notorious pirates

but this could be through a sense of great pride in their island community and its prowess.

Therefore though there may have been a wish among these various peoples to be associated with the Sultanate of Sulu when this was a strong force this is no longer the case. The present situation in Sulu and Mindanao is not a reflection of their "group image", as people of Sulu, but rather on a wider basis as fellow Moslems. Thus any idea that the Sulu Sultanate will be reconstituted is romantic. I feel that with the decline of the old Sulu State the people of the region reverted to their earlier self-image on a small community basis. Tausug has certainly been established as a lingua franca but alongside Samal, Cagayan and the West Mindanao language--not as the lingua franca.

ORANGUTAN PROJECT, CORRECTION

From Biruté Galdikas-Brindamour
Orangutan Project, Pangkalanbun, Kalimantan Tengah

In Brief Communications Vol. 5, No. 1, Barbara Harrisson wrote about our research on the wild orangutan. Unfortunately, there was an error. At the end of our first year in the field, our study area consisted of 1700 (seventeen hundred) hectares rather than the 17 (seventeen) mentioned.

This error is not Barbara Harrisson's doing since it first occurred in a letter I once wrote her. However, it is terribly misleading to anyone interested in orangutan population figures.

Further information on our work: At the present time we are beginning our third year of research on the wild orangutan of Kotawaringin--Sampit Reserve (also known as Tanjung Puting). We have expanded our trail system to cover a study area of 5,500 hectares. However, most of our research continues on the one dozen or so orangutan individuals in the center of this area. So far we have accumulated over 2,500 hours of direct observation on the wild orangutan here. We are hoping that two Indonesian university students will join the project in the capacity of research assistants sometime during the coming year.

In addition, we are continuing our rehabilitation efforts. The most recent arrival is a seven year old female who is almost adult. Although she is far from being rehabilitated, we hope that eventually she will return to the forest near our camp and breed with some wild male.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

FILM ON THE LAND DAYAK AVAILABLE

CARSTEN NIEMITZ along with his wife has produced a film entitled "The Forging of a Ritual Knife (*pendak*) by Land Dayaks in Sarawak, Borneo." He has also prepared an article under the same title with the addition ". . . and Some Ethnological Notes" which will appear in the Sarawak Museum Journal. He presently is offering copies of the film for sale, and anyone interested in this should contact Mr. Niemitz at the following address: c/o Pathologisches Institut II, 63 Giessen, Arndtstr. 16, West Germany.

SCANDINAVIAN INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES

The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies (SIAS) was founded in 1967 to stimulate Asian Studies in the Nordic countries. To further this aim the Institute acts as a center of information and documentation. Collections of research material, books, and journals are available, and lectures and courses are arranged. The Institute acts as a channel of communication between Scandinavian and foreign scholars.

The SIAS is financed through contributions from Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. It is an independent institution with governing body consisting of two scholars appointed by each member government. The governing body appoints a director.

The SIAS is situated in central Copenhagen at Kejsersgade 2^{IV}, Copenhagen K. It overlooks Grey-friars' Square, facing beautiful 18th century baroque houses. The square is laid out on the site of a medieval monastery. The SIAS contains a library, a lecture and conference room, a reading room, a catalogue room, and offices. There are microfilm and microfiche readers at the disposal of students and visitors using the reading room.

The research activities of the SIAS fall within the humanities and social sciences. A Scandinavian center for field research in South East Asia was opened in 1970 in Lampang, Thailand. So far, research and studies in anthropology, sociology, history, linguistics, archaeology, economics and education have been carried out there.

The SIAS grants scholarships to Scandinavian researchers and students to make it possible to go to Asia for research work and advanced studies.

The SIAS issues a Monograph series and other publications.

SCANDINAVIAN INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES PUBLISHES

PROTO-AUSTRONESIAN, BY OTTO CHRISTIAN IMIL

This book is a critical survey of work done on Proto-Austronesian, (also known as Proto-Malayo-Austronesian), beginning from 1920, and concentrating on the studies of Dempwolff and Isidore Dyen, and, on the basis of new material, proposes emendations

in the reconstructions. While previous writers have dealt exclusively with the phoneme system and the vocabulary, here Proto-Austronesian grammar is dealt with as well.

Dr. Dahl, who studied Austronesian linguistics in Hamburg in 1937 and in Leiden in 1950, is the author of several studies on Malagasy, the language of Madagascar, where he was a missionary from 1929 to 1957. Borneanists should recall that Malagasy is related to the language of the Ma'nanjan Dayaks. Dr. Dahl is now holding a Norwegian National Scholarship for linguistic research.

This book published in 1973 is Number 15 in the Institute's Monograph Series, and consists of 146 pages. It may be purchased from the publisher, Studentlitteratur AB, Fack, 5-221 01 Lund 1, Sweden, at a cost of £2.75 or US\$7.00.

BORNEAN MATERIALS AT OHIO UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Ohio University Library participates in the Library of Congress's NPAC acquisitions program for Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and Indonesia: we are averaging 15,000 new volumes a year for the countries covered through this program, and I think that scholars concerned with Borneo might be quite pleased with our collection. Though it does not yet rival Cornell's, we have a few choice items: (1) Daniel Bovehman's A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo (London, T. Warner, 1718); (2) a manuscript by one of the sailors on Captain Keppel's Meander on his cruise to Borneo; (3) 17 microfilmed reels of British Colonial Office Records on Labuan from the Public Record Office Film Library; and (4) Thomas Forrest's A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas, from Balambangan (London, J. Robson, 1779). Besides this, I try to obtain a copy of every dissertation or thesis on Borneo that I learn of--some thirty by now. We would be happy to help any visiting scholar or to fill any request by interlibrary loan personnel for such materials as we have. (From: David A. Miller, Ohio University Library).

B O R N E O N E W S

Regional News

KENNETH SKINNER (a former Peace Corps volunteer in Sabah, 1968-69) is currently a graduate student in anthropology at the University of Minnesota. Ken, who worked at Kiulu in Tuaran District, is specializing in East and Southeast Asian studies.

TOM HARRISSON contributed to the South East Asia and Pacific section of Primitive Ethnic Arts (Random House in the U.S., Weidenfeld and Nicolson in the U.K.). This section especially discusses Borneo and is richly illustrated. Harrisson has been promoted to Professorial Fellow at the University of Sussex, which has enlarged his Mass-Observation research to specialize in the social history of World War II and the nineteen thirties-forties.

JEROME ROUSSEAU will edit Special Monograph No. 2, Kuching: Sarawak Museum, entitled

The Peoples of Central Borneo. Its tentative contents are as follows:

J. Rousseau: Introduction

Areas of central Borneo

H. L. and P. R. Whittier: The Apo Kayan area of East Kalimantan

J. Rousseau: The Baluy area

P. Metcalf: The Baram district: a survey of Kenyah, Kayan and Penan peoples

Linguistic studies

B. Clavre and L. Cubit: An outline of Kayan grammar

J. Rousseau: A vocabulary of Baluy Kayan

R. A. Blust: A Murik vocabulary

Social anthropology

T. G. Babcock: Indigenous ethnicity in Sarawak

V. T. King: Maloh social structure

J. L. Deegan: Community fragmentation among the Lun Bawang

C. A. Sather and Iatta Solhee: Kampong Selanyau: social and economic organization of a Kedayan rice-growing village in Sarawak

B. L. de Martinoir: Notes on the Kajang

P. Metcalf: Berawan adoption practices

Tuton Kuboy: The Peman Aput

Jayl Langub: Adaptation to a settled life by the Peman of the Belaga sub-district

Culture and history

W. W. Conley: Kenyah cultural themes and their interrelationships

W. W. Conley: Kenyah receptivity and response to Christianity

G. Gockel: The Long Pekun Sebop

Belawing: Story of the Long Kiput Kenyah

Tama Ino Balay: Prayers for the erection of a new house (edited by A. D. Galvin).

H. L. and P. R. Whittier: Some Apo Mayan megaliths

Brunei News

BARBARA HARRISSON writes that she spent last summer working at the Brunei Museum. Her work was concentrated on identifying and describing pots for the Curator in the Museum's Reference Collections (not archeological material). There are about 5,000 pots in this collection and she has processed about 2/3 of them. The remainder will be examined during her next visit.

ROBERT NICHOLL writes that he has prepared a bibliography of 16th century sources for the history of Brunei. Nicholl is engaged in a variety of studies related to early Brunei history, relying both on foreign and indigenous sources. Now an Education Officer in the Brunei Service, Mr. Nicholl was the last of the Rajah's Officers in Sarawak, from which he retired in 1969.

CARRIE CHU BROWN continues with work on translating Chinese materials on Brunei. She is also assisting with the editing of the BRB.

GRAHAM SAUNDERS, who formerly taught in Sarawak, is now Senior Master at Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin College. He is preparing a bibliography of 17th and 18th century European sources on Brunei.

TOM HARRISON'S monograph on "Prehistoric Wood" for Kota Batu (Special Monograph No. 2, Brunei Museum) is now in press.

Sabah News

DAVID MCCREEDIE has been Curator of the Sabah Museum since September, 1973.

JOHN HARRISON'S Introduction to the Mammals of Sabah has been reprinted and is now available at the price of M\$5.00 postpaid with a discount on orders of ten or more from the Sabah Society, P. O. Box 547, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia.

Sarawak News

BENEDICT SANDIN has retired from his position as Curator of the Sarawak Museum.

ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABSTRACTS*

Papers Concerning Borneo read at the 72nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 1973, New Orleans

APPELL, G. N. (Brandeis University) THE DIRECTION OF RESEARCH IN BORNEO: ITS PAST CONTRIBUTIONS TO ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY AND ITS RELEVANCE FOR THE FUTURE The range of sociocultural types found in Borneo is reviewed, and the opportunities this presents for theory testing and research is discussed. Modern investigations are briefly reviewed as a background to the present symposium, and their influence on the development of social-anthropological theory is outlined. The relevance for theory development that ongoing research as well as future research may have is suggested.

* Excepting those for Casio, Deegan, Maxwell, Schneider and Sutlive, abstracts printed here are from Abstracts of the 72nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. Deegan's is from Dissertation Abstracts International, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, U.S.A.

BROWN, DONALD E. (University of California, Santa Barbara) SOCIAL STRUCTURE, HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE SULTANATE OF BRUNEI Based on data from the Sultanate of Brunei, this paper summarizes recent research on the social structural determinants of history and historiography. Four examples are given. The first concern traditional officials who accumulate no traditions. The second concerns distortions of ethnic history due to hereditary stratification. The third concerns the general decline of historiographic quality due to hereditary stratification. The fourth shows that the scales which inform the Brunei sociopolitical taxonomy allow retrodiction of age and prediction of stability of the units of the sociopolitical system.

CASINO, ERIC S. (Curator, Anthropology Division, National Museum, Manila) SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND KINSHIP IN JAMA MAPUN SOCIETY This paper shows the relationship between social stratification and variations in kinship forms and usages among the Muslim, trade-oriented Cagayan de Sulu islanders. The Jama Mapun form an important branch of the Samal-Bajau group of the Sulu Archipelago and northern Borneo. The paper concludes with observations of general interest to social anthropology or specific to the interpretation of Jama Mapun society and culture.

CRAIN, JAY B. (California State University, Sacramento) NGERUFAN: RITUAL PROCESS IN A BORNEAN RICE HARVEST Ngerufan is the most elaborate of several forms of Lun Dayeh agricultural labor organization. Although wasteful of resources, it is the most esteemed form of social agriculture. The culturally constituted referents of symbols expressed in ngerufan provide a ritual model that encompasses most of the overlapping and often conflicting systems of relational schema that constitute what we term "Lun Dayeh social structure."

FIDLER, RICHARD C. (Northern Arizona University) THE CHANGING FAMILY STRUCTURE OF THE CHINESE IN BORNEO The family structure of the Chinese of Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces (South China) in the late 1800s is reviewed concentrating on the inter-relationship of the lineage village, clan ownership of farmland, ancestor homage and the extended family household. Immigration to Sarawak, in Borneo, has broken this interlocking network of land-lineage-ancestors-household. The changing economic patterns that affect residence, descent systems and kinship are examined, and the development of nuclear family households, the extension of bilateral kinship ties and the adjustments to living in a multiethnic community are described and analyzed.

HARRISON, ROBERT (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) SWIDDEN HAMLETS OF RANAU DUSUN COMMUNITIES In his Theory of Peasant Economy, Chayanov suggests that the extended family structure of the Russian peasantry is an attempt to optimize the availability of labor against consumption under systems of limited farm productivity. An analysis of the hamlet structure of the swidden communities of the Ranau Dusun (Borneo) suggests that there are other forms of organization which can accomplish the same end. In this analysis the family is seen as only a partial unit of production whose needs are met by pooling labor of other families located at different points in their conjuncture family consumption.

HUDSON, A. B. (University of Massachusetts) and PATRICIA WHITTIER (Michigan State University) BORNEO LANGUAGE SURVEY: AN INTERIM REPORT This paper reports on the results of a linguistic survey begun in Central and South Kalimantan in 1963-64 and

continued in East and West Kalimantan, Sarawak, and Brunei in 1969-70. A provisional classification based on comparative phonological and lexical analysis of extensive word lists is presented. Some of the anthropological implications of this classification are discussed and suggestions made for future research.

MAXWELL, ALLEN R. (Barnard College) POLYSEMY IN KADAYAN KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY The domain of Kadayan kinship and the boundaries of the kinship system are outlined with respect to semantic features, lexemic structure, and locally relevant cultural and sociological distinctions. Two different varieties of polysemy are examined; that internal to the kinship system--as evidenced by the internal taxonomic structuring of kin classes, homophonous relations between certain kin classes, and homophony deriving from abbreviation--and that involving homophony with other areas of non-kinship vocabulary.

McKINLEY, ROBERT (Michigan State University) THE SPECIAL POWERS OF ENEMIES: A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF HEADHUNTING RITES IN BORNEO In the past many Dayak groups conducted war raids to obtain enemy heads which were then carried home where they were believed to enhance the well-being of the raiders' community. Vayda has argued that the pattern of distant raiding in headhunting is an adaptive mechanism accommodating the migratory and expansive tendencies of certain swidden cultivators. In contrast, earlier writers tended to stress the ritual motivations of headhunting; they failed, however, to analyze fully the rituals to which they attributed the practice of headhunting. In short, ecological pressure might explain a group's harassment and killing of its enemies, but it does not explain why enemy heads should be carried home and installed as the mystical benefactors of one's own community. This paper offers an explanation in terms of ritual and symbolic logic.

SCHNEIDER, WILLIAM M. (University of Arkansas) STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF SELAKO MARRIAGE Selako marriage creates relations between husband and wife and the kinsmen of each. These relations involve an institutionalized hostility among affinals which is at variance with normative behavior among kinsmen. Selako employ several institutionalized means of coping with the contradictions.

SUTLIVE, VINSON H., JR. (College of William and Mary) RESEARCH AMONG THE IBAN OF SIBU AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL-ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY ON URBANIZATION During the past two decades more than 3,500 Iban have moved from their jungle homes into the port town of Sibul, Sarawak, Malaysia. Available evidence indicates that more Iban will move into Sibul. During the years 1969-1972, the author conducted research into (1) the factors involved in the in-migration of the Iban, (2) traditional and modern patterns of interaction between Iban and non-Iban, and (3) structural and cultural changes that are occurring among the Iban through the interaction of rural and urban residents.

Research indicated that there is an absence of perceived spatial and ethnic boundaries, and the town is looked upon as a new exploitable niche by the mobile, pioneering Iban. There was little evidence of disorientation or disorganization. The openness and flexibility of bilateral attachment traditional among the Iban have been pre-adaptive to the town. Conventional fictive kinship ties between the Iban and non-Iban have been maintained and reinterpreted in the urban context. Urbanization is resulting in both structural and cultural changes in town and country.

Change Among the Lun Bawang, a Borneo People

James Lewis Deegan (Ph.D.
University of Washington 1973)

Chairman: Professor Simon Ottenberg

The dissertation is based on field work among the Lun Bawang (Murut) of Lawas District Sarawak, Malaysia during 1969 and 1970. They are primarily slash and burn rice agriculturalists, but they also have a tradition of wet rice farming. The dissertation traces their development from pre-Sarawak days in the 1850's to 1970. This includes the time internecine hostilities among Lun Bawang of different villages and valleys and the initial and subsequent effects of State of Sarawak on these disparate communities. The slow expansion of economic activities beyond rice farming and the impact of Christianity are also considered. The analysis uses a theoretical framework that has been modified from the work of M. G. Smith. With this model, four structural laws are proposed and subsequently used to analyze the Lun Bawang material and to consider their future. (Order No. 74-795, 347 pages).

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Late Announcement

APPLICANTS SOUGHT FOR RESEARCH ON PUNAN GROUPS IN KALIMANTAN

I have been approached by an organization which will help raise the funds for social anthropological research on the Punan groups of Kalimantan. And I shall be doing the preliminary screening of applicants as well as helping to supervise the project. The funding organization wants mature, well qualified applicants who are willing to work under the difficult conditions that such research will require. Anyone who is interested in this type of research should contact me, preferably sending on their curriculum vitae, G. N. Appell, P. O. Box A, Phillips, Maine 04966, U.S.A.